identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possible that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní." Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string liga-
301 tures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is